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EDUCATING THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

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THIS REVIEW OF THE STATUS OF THE EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO POINTS OUT THAT HISTORICALLY HIS SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION HAVE BEEN SHAPED BY FORCES OVER WHICH HE HAS HAD VERY LITTLE CONTROL. THE REVIEW DESCRIBES THE NEGRO'S MODEST EDUCATIONAL BEGINNINGS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD (PRIMARILY DEVOTED TO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION) AND PRE- AND POST-CIVIL WAR DEVELOPMENTS. THE GREATEST EFFORT TOWARD ESTABLISHING SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES OCCURRED DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA, MAINLY UNDER CHURCH SPONSORSHIP, WHEN THE MOST IMPORTANT NEGRO INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION WERE FOUNDED. THE DUAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH WAS GIVEN LEGAL SANCTION IN 1896 BY THE PLESSY VS. FERGUSON CASE. ALTHOUGH IN THE 20TH CENTURY PROFOUND CHANGES IN PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR NEGROES TOOK PLACE, BOTH IN TERMS OF ATTENDANCE RATES AND IMPROVEMENT IN EDUCATIONAL QUALITY, IT WAS CLEAR THAT SEGREGATED SCHOOLS WERE UNEQUAL. THE ARTICLE TRACES THE LEGAL BATTLES AGAINST THESE SEGREGATED JIM CROW SCHOOLS AND DESCRIBES THE DEVELOPMENTS IN DESEGREGATION SINCE 1960 IN SOUTHERN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. SPECIAL ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO REGIONAL VARIATIONS. IT ALSO CONTAINS A DISCUSSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES AND THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS FACED BY NEGRO COLLEGES AND STUDENTS. THE ISSUES OF NORTHERN SCHOOLS, RACIAL BALANCE, AND THE CURRENT CONCERN WITH CULTURAL DEPRIVATION AND LOW ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT ARE ALSO NOTED. THIS ARTICLE IS PUBLISHED IN DAVIS, JOHN P., ED. THE AMERICAN NEGRO REFERENCE BOOK. ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J., PRENTICE-HALL, C1966. P.360-395. (NH)

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chapter 7

Educating the American Negro

Virgil A. Clift

The story of the education of the American Negro has raised fundamental questions throughout our history as to the extent and quality of his cultural integration. The ordeal of slavery, followed by a century of segregation and discrimination, forced the Negro to live in a cultural no man's land. He was stripped of his African culture, language and religion; and, at the same time, by exclusion and denial was not permitted to enter the mainstream of American life. Yet, in spite of differential treatment, inequality before the law and often intense, harsh and brutal treatment, he developed a devotion, loyalty and attachment to America. Therefore, one must understand the historical paradox of the Negro's life in America in order to gain insight into his past and present education. Historically, the development of schools and programs of education for Negroes has represented largely the influences of social forces outside the Negro community and over which he had little or no control.

EDUCATION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Since the introduction of the first Negro slaves (c. 1619) into the Jamestown colony, the question of Negro education has been a subject of controversy in America. During the colonial period, the institution of slavery was recognized as being incompatible with education. If made available to slaves, education would be a factor in destroying slavery. There are reports of instances, however, where organizations sought to provide some education for slaves. After 1740, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sought to raise the level of living among both whites and Negroes in the South. The missionaries of this organization urged the masters to provide opportunity for their slaves to be converted. They suggested that slaves be given time to study the Scriptures and to

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learn to read and write. Occasionally, they taught the slaves themselves and, in one notable instance, they fostered the establishment of a school for Negroes in Charleston, South Carolina, in which the teachers themselves were slaves owned by the society.[1]

"The Christianization of the Negro proceeded as the first great step in his larger American education." [2] There is considerable evidence that the Puritans favored conversion. In a tract published in London in 1673, Richard Baxter favored Christian instruction of slaves. In 1674, John Eliot, who had done much to improve life among the Indians, turned his attention to instructing Negroes. Cotton Mather, busy with writing and teaching, took time to instruct Negroes and, in 1717, began his evening school for Indians and Negroes. Samuel Sewall, a judge in Massachusetts, not only favored instruction but also was quite outspoken against slavery, believing it to be a curse against God and humanity. In 1728, Nathaniel Pigott announced that he was opening a school for the "instruction of Negroes in reading, catechizing, and writing," but there is no record of its success or failure.

The most conscientious effort to improve conditions among slaves was made by the Quakers. They not only took steps to abolish slavery, but some leaders such as George Fox urged owners of slaves to give religious instruction to them. In 1700, William Penn was instrumental in getting a Monthly Meeting established for Negroes. During this time many colonists were teaching their slaves and free Negroes; indeed, Paul Cuffee, a prosperous Negro, set up a school in Massachusetts in the eighteenth century. John Woolman's influence was especially noteworthy among Quakers.

Important also was the influence of Anthony Benezet, who began an evening school in his home in Philadelphia in 1750 and continued instruction there for twenty years. Regarded among his contemporaries as a highly enlightened man of letters, his views had much significance when he spoke out against the idea of Negro inferiority.

> I can with truth and sincerity declare that I have found amongst the Negroes as great a variety of talents as amongst a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some, that the blacks are inferior in their capacities, is a vulgar prejudice, founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance, as to be unable to form a right judgment of them.[3]

[1] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1947), p. 80.

[2] W. A. Low, "The Education of Negroes Viewed Historically," in V. A. Clift, *et al.* (eds.), *Negro Education in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 35.

[3] George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), pp. 46–47.

Many other Quakers saw the need not only to give Christian instruction to Negroes, but to abolish slavery as well. In 1776, the Philadelphia Quakers decided to put an end to slaveholding. They founded the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, whose members included Benjamin Franklin, William Pitt, Noah Webster and Thomas Paine. This society aimed to establish schools for Negroes whenever possible, in addition to the abolition of slavery.

Prior to the Revolution there were a few other notable examples of attempts to educate the Negro. An early catechizing school was founded in New York City at Trinity Church in 1704, with instruction being given by Elia Neau. Reverend Thomas Bray in Maryland encouraged conversion and instruction, and, at times, white and Negro children were taught together.

Because of their concern for indoctrinating them with Christianity the French and Spanish settlers were more active in trying to educate slaves than the English. The Catholics in New Orleans, under the leadership of the Ursuline Nuns, attempted to teach Negroes and Indians in 1727, and established and conducted a school for Negroes in 1734.

The English were much slower to follow a similar policy until the provincial statutes and the declarations of the Bishop of London established the principles that conversion did not lead to manumission.[4]

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR[5]

The doctrine of the "natural rights" of man, which was a part of the philosophy of the American Revolution, helped the opponents of slavery espouse the right of the Negro education. Benjamin Franklin favored and encouraged the full education of the Negro. Thomas Jefferson thought that they should be given industrial and agricultural education but did not believe in the intellectual equality of Negroes and whites.

Education in the South

Despite legal restrictions and despite contentions of Southerners like John C. Calhoun that Negroes could not absorb educative experiences, Negro

[4] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 418.

[5] One of the best and most reliable references on the early education of the Negro is Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919). One of the best references for later years is Horace Mann Bond, *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.)

slaves did receive education in various parts of the South. According to John H. Franklin,[6] some masters themselves taught their slaves. The case of Frederick Douglass having been taught by his mistress is perhaps the best known instance of an owner teaching a slave. One planter in northern Mississippi boasted that all twenty of his slaves could read and that they purchased their own books. In some cases, even where masters were opposed to their slaves receiving instruction, the children of masters would teach slaves to read and write.

The instruction of one or two slaves, though a violation of the law, was not regarded as serious, and there was hardly any danger of prosecution. However, the insurrection of 1800 so frightened Southern planters that further expansion of education for Negroes was discouraged. In the nineteenth century, Negroes in Southern states had to content themselves, for the most part, with clandestine schools and private teachers.

In some isolated instances, Negroes attended mixed schools in the South. In 1840, Negroes were permitted to attend schools with white children in Wilmington, Delaware. Julius Mebourn was sent to a white academy near Raleigh, North Carolina, by his mistress and remained there until it was discovered he was a Negro. Franklin [7] concludes that "There is no way of knowing the extent to which Negroes attended the schools of whites." Nor is there any way of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy the number of slaves who were literate before the Civil War. Amos Dresser believed that one out of every fifty slaves in the southwest could read and write. C. G. Parsons estimated that about five thousand of Georgia's 400 thousand slaves were literate.[8]

Education in the North

During the post-revolutionary period, Negroes in the North benefited from the general trend to establish and improve schools in the new nation. Whites in Boston taught Negro children both privately and in public institutions. In 1798, a separate school for Negro children was established by a white teacher in the home of Primus Hall, a prominent Negro. Two years later, Negroes asked the city of Boston for a separate school, but the request was refused. Negroes established a school anyway and employed two Harvard men as instructors. This school continued for many years; and finally, in 1820, the city of Boston opened an elementary school for Negroes.

One of the best known schools for Negroes during the period was the

[6] Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
[7] Franklin, *ibid.*, p. 201.
[8] Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

New York African Free School, established by the Manumission Society in 1787. It began with forty students and the number never exceeded sixty in its first decade of existence. At first, there was great opposition to the school, but in 1800 interest in it increased. New impetus for its continued growth came in 1810, when New York required masters to teach all slave children to read the Scriptures. By 1820, the institution had enrolled more than five hundred Negro children.

New Jersey began educating her Negro children in 1777. By 1801, there had been short-lived schools established in Burlington, Salem and Trenton. In addition, Quakers and other humanitarian groups were teaching Negro children privately. As early as 1774, the Quakers of Philadelphia established a school for Negro children, and after the war, thanks to funds provided by philanthropist Anthony Benezet, the program was enlarged. In 1787, a school was built in Philadelphia, and ten years later there were at least seven schools for Negroes in this city. This interest in the development of Negro education continued until the nineteenth century. In most places, however, separate schools were maintained. The separate schools established in Boston in 1820 was followed closely by other Massachusetts towns which organized schools for Negroes.

In 1849, Charles Sumner in the case *Roberts* vs. *The City of Boston*, appeared before the Massachusetts Supreme Court on behalf of a Negro girl who had been barred from a white school under the local ordinance providing for separate education of the races. The Massachusetts Supreme Court held against Sumner and the Negro plaintiff; however, by 1855, sufficient public opinion had been mobilized to persuade the Massachusetts legislature to repudiate the court. In that year, segregation in the public schools of the state was specifically prohibited by statute.[9]

Rhode Island and Connecticut maintained separate schools, and in the last decade before the Civil War larger funds were given to them. Not until 1824 did the New York Common Council begin to support African Free Schools. The city took them over altogether in 1834. Although some communities in the state permitted Negro children to attend white schools, the legislature made it clear in 1841 that any district could establish separate schools. New Jersey also maintained separate schools for Negro children. The citizens of Pennsylvania continued to give both public and private support to their Negro schools and they increased in number, particularly in the western part of the state.

As more and more Negroes migrated to the West, citizens were faced with the problem of education. Ohio excluded Negroes from public schools

[9] H. S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 3–4.

by law in 1829, and twenty years later provided separate schools, but never appropriated enough funds to set up anything creditable. Citizens of Indiana and Illinois were equally indifferent. Michigan and Wisconsin adopted more democratic policies, but most Negroes in the West had to wait until after the Civil War before they were able to be educated in considerable numbers at public expense.

It was during this period that Negroes began to attend some institutions of higher education. John Russwurm graduated from Bowdoin College in 1826. Before the Civil War a few Negroes were attending Oberlin, Franklin and Rutland Colleges and the Harvard Medical and other schools.

During the pre-Civil War period a few Negroes were appointed to the faculties of white colleges. Charles L. Reason, William G. Allen, and George B. Vashon each held for a time the professorship of Belle Lettres at Central College in McGrawville, New York. It was said that these teachers wore "the professor's mantle gracefully, giving proof of good scholarship and manly character." In this period also the American Missionary Association continued its work, administering the interesting experiment for the coeducaton of the races at Berea College in Kentucky.[10]

DEVELOPMENTS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Even after the Civil War efforts to educate the Negro were met with strong opposition. Public education was frequently denounced in Southern publications because it was identified with the idea of equality. Resentment against the Negro school and church sometimes flared into violence, with Negroes being forcibly stopped from attending schools and teachers being physically prevented from teaching. Churches which housed schools were often burned. In spite of these conditions, it was at this time that the first organized program of education was developed for the freedmen.

West Virginia, which became a separate political unit in 1863, was the first Southern state to make provision in its constitution for the "equal though separate" education of the Negro. In sections of Florida and Louisiana under the jurisdiction of the Union military forces, and in the border states, there were efforts to set up public schools for Negroes. In 1865, Missouri included Negroes in her school system.[11] In the border states, support for Negro public schools came from the taxes paid by Negroes. This was true even in the District of Columbia, where, in 1862,

[10] Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 383–84.

[11] Report of the U.S. Commission on Education, McKee's Report to the House Committee on Education and Labor, 1870, p. 187.

Congress passed a bill setting aside 10 percent of the taxes paid by Negroes to support Negro schools.[12]

During Reconstruction, the attitude of the South toward the education of the freedman was determined not only by the traditional attitudes toward the status of the Negro, but also by the outlook and interests of the various groups that emerged with the collapse of the Confederacy. Three elements in Southern society arose: (1) The Conservatives, who attempted (through the Black Codes) to reinstate as far as possible the servile status of the Negro. This class was opposed to any form of education of the Negro. (2) The moderates, who realized that slavery was dead and that the new status of the Negro should be recognized in creating a new society in the South. In this moderate group where many large plantation owners who were willing to provide some education for Negroes in order to secure a stable and reliable labor supply. (3) The radicals, comprised of the unpropertied whites and small farmers, who had no real interest in the slave system and who because of their cooperation with Negroes in establishing public schools were called "renegades and scalawags."

The chief contribution of the Reconstruction government was to set a precedent for the democratic right of all the people to public tax-supported education. However, education of whites and Negroes in the same school was not attempted on a large scale; and in Louisiana and South Carolina, where such attempts were made, there was violence or the whites generally boycotted the schools. At the time Negro leaders generally accepted separate schools as an inevitable consequence of the traditional attitudes of the whites toward the association of the races.

During the Civil War and immediately following, the War Department provided care and some instruction to Negroes who were either refugees or "contraband." The Freedman's Bureau (1865–72) acted as an agency of the department and expanded these early efforts under the leadership of General Oliver Otis Howard, Commissioner; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and John W. Alvord, Superintendent of Instruction for the bureau. The Freedman's Bureau was influential in giving central organization, protection and financial support to the efforts of philanthropists, freedmen and the states. This framework was essential for the establishment of a system of education.

After the war, the Freedman's Bureau and various Freedman's aid societies helped to establish higher institutions as well as elementary and secondary schools for Negroes. But in addition to these efforts the churches also made a valuable contribution. Among the most important of these was the

[12] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro Common School* (Atlanta, Georgia: Atlanta University Press, 1901), p. 38.

American Missionary Association, which set up schools in Newport News, Portsmouth, Suffolk and Yorktown in Virginia and Washington, D.C., as well as in Columbus, Ohio, as early as 1863. Other important church groups which gave aid to the education of the recently emancipated Negroes were: The Friends Association for the Aid to Freedmen, the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the American Church Institute of the Episcopal Church, and the Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Among the outstanding leaders associated with these organizations and religious movements were Levi Coffin, Salmon P. Chase, Henry Ward Beecher, John M. Walden, Richard S. Rust, Mathias W. Baldwin (locomotive industrialist), Edward T. Atkinson (textile manufacturer), and William Claflin (Governor of Massachusetts).

In the decade immediately following the close of the Civil War, leading church groups were active in the establishment of a number of schools which although in the beginning were hardly more than secondary schools, later became landmarks in the system of higher education in the South. The most important of these include Atlanta University (1865) in Atlanta, Georgia, Talladega, in Alabama, (1867), Fisk University (1866) in Nashville, Tennessee, and Tougaloo University (1869) in Mississippi—all established by the American Missionary Association. The Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College began as Branch Normal in 1873 at Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Morehouse College of Atlanta, Georgia, was originally established in 1867 as the Augusta Institute in Augusta, Georgia. It was supported by the American Baptist Home Mission Society which was also instrumental in the founding and support of Virginia Union University in 1865, Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1865, and Benedict College in 1870 in South Carolina. The Methodist Episcopal Church established an institution at Holly Springs, Mississippi in 1867, a school which was later known as both Shaw University and Rust College. The Presbyterians in North Carolina established the Scotia Seminary, which today is known as Barber-Scotia College. Biddle University was founded the same year at Charlotte, North Carolina, and is known today as Johnson C. Smith University. The Methodist Episcopal Church founded the Centenary Biblical Institute in Baltimore in 1866, which later became Morgan College and is today Morgan State College. Howard University in Washington, D.C., was established in 1867. These represent a few of the institutions of higher education, significant in America today, which can trace their roots to the post Civil War period.

Philanthropy also aided materially in Negro education by providing

buildings, endowments, scholarships, support for teacher training and industrial education. The Daniel Hand Fund and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund were established exclusively for Negroes.

Land-grant colleges for Negroes were established under the provisions of the Second Morrill Act (1890). This provided the framework for the state-supported institutions for higher education. The Second Morrill Act was one of the first means of assuring land-grant funds for Negro education where the dual system of education existed. On the other hand, it gave strength to the doctrine of "separate but equal," with the result that the seventeen Southern states maintained colleges which came to be known as the Negro land-grant colleges. It was at these institutions which received a minimum of Federal and state support that the public system of higher education for Negroes in the South was based.

Immediately following the end of the Reconstruction period, the South deprived the Negro not only of citizenship rights but also of educational privileges. During the period from 1876 to 1895, in the Southern states as a whole, the enrollment of whites increased markedly and that of the Negroes was moderate, the increase for whites being 106 percent as compared with 59 percent for Negroes. During the 1890's, Negroes were disfranchised by state constitutional provisions and their subordinate status was given legal basis in the South. As a result, education for Negroes became more segregated in those areas where mixed schools had existed, and inequalities developed in teachers' salaries and in other provisions for Negro education.

In 1890, the influence of Booker T. Washington had begun to be felt. His campaign to establish an educational program for Negroes that would be acceptable to the South was widely discussed. It was during this period also that philanthropy became an important factor in the support of Negro education in the South. Seizing upon these two factors, Southern states soon introduced inequality into their support of Negro and white education. Gains which had been made toward mixing the schools for the races were quickly stamped out.

A dictum from the famous case of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson* (1896) was the basis of saddling the "separate but equal doctrine" on education in the South.[13] The United States Supreme Court actually went out of its way to recognize "that segregation in education was a general American practice, not an uniquely Southern one."

From 1896 to 1954, the dual system of education was developed and

[13] For full discussion of this case see Constance Baker Motley, "The Legal Status of the Negro," later in this volume, p. 484.

expanded in the South. Permissive segregation was maintained in the border states. Schools remained, in fact, *separate and unequal.*

DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the early years of the twentieth century, public education for Negroes in the South received significant impetus from the outside through the contributions of such philanthropists as Rockefeller and Peabody. The Anna T. Jeanes Fund, in 1908, inaugurated the Jeanes Teacher program to improve the quality of instruction in rural Negro schools. Beginning in 1913, the Julius Rosenwald Fund provided grants for Negro school construction, and by 1932 more than 5,000 Negro school buildings in 883 counties of fifteen Southern and border states had been built with Rosenwald aid. Rosenwald grants provided an invaluable incentive and accounted for about 15 percent of the money spent on school construction for Negroes. In addition, 17 percent came from direct contributions made by Negroes themselves. At the end of the Rosenwald building program, the per-pupil value of Negro school property was still less than one-fifth as great as that of white schools. An even more telling index of the relative growth of the dual school system is provided by a comparison of teachers' salaries. Between 1900 and 1930, the average white teacher's salary rose from slightly less than two hundred dollars to nine hundred dollars, while the average Negro teacher's salary rose from one hundred dollars to four hundred dollars. And these figures reflect the peak of a national boom, both in national income and in school population.[14]

The effects of this disparate policy were evident in the concentration of Negro children in the lower grades during the first half of the twentieth century. As late as 1920, 85 percent of all Negro pupils in the South were enrolled in the first four grades. In 1916, there were only sixty-seven Negro public high schools with fewer than twenty thousand students.[15]

The two decades between World War I and World War II were marked by profound changes in Negro education. As noted by Low,[16] there was

[14] Ashmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18.

[15] For further information on the inequality of the segregated school system in the South, see Fourteenth U.S. Census, vol. 11, p. 1043; *The Negro Year Book, 1925–26* (Tuskeegee, Alabama, Negro Yearbook Publishing Co.); Bulletin No. 39, Department of Interior, Bureau of Education ("Negro Education"); N. C. Newbold, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,* November, 1928, p. 209; and V. A. Clift, *School and Society,* 72 (October 7, 1952).

[16] W. A. Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54.

significant increase in public high schools for Negroes, North and South—especially in large urban areas. Capital outlays for schools increased in substantial amounts. The number of high school teachers employed, students enrolled and high school graduates grew markedly. And all of this growth was accompanied by programs of school consolidation, new curricula and other educational advances which reflected the general American patterns on elementary and secondary education.

Also during this period, Low points out, there was a large increase in the numbers of college graduates from Northern schools and Negro institutions in the South. Improvement in the quality of the Negro colleges led to more and more of them receiving accreditation from regional accrediting agencies.

The Negro land-grant colleges in this period surpassed the private colleges in financial support and in consequence attracted an enrollment larger than these privately financed institutions. One consequence of this was the establishment of the United Negro College Fund at the end of World War II to buttress the rising financial needs of the private colleges.

During this period Negro education came increasingly under the scrutiny of students of American education. The focus was on quality. Studies in Negro education appeared regularly in the *Journal of Negro Education*, first published in 1932. Federal, state and local research greatly augmented our knowledge of Negro education.

The more deeply scholars probed into Negro education and made comparisons with the education of white youth the more they became aware of the appalling gap between education for Negroes and whites. Many noted also the predominance of teacher training in Negro colleges and the lack of democracy in the administration of Negro schools and colleges. The toll of Negro education taken by the doctrine in the Plessy case became increasingly apparent.

LEGAL ATTACKS ON JIM CROW SCHOOLS

Between 1896, when the Plessy decision was handed down, and 1930, only three cases involving Negro education came before the Supreme Court. In none of these was school segregation directly challenged, nor did the Court find occasion to order relief of any kind for Negro plaintiffs. In 1899, the Supreme Court heard an appeal by a group of Negroes from Augusta, Georgia, who demanded an end to public support for two white high schools after the sole Negro high school had been discontinued. The majority

opinion in *Cumming* vs. *Richmond County* held that the relief requested was improper. In 1908, the Court heard the case of *Berea College* vs. *Kentucky,* which involved the right of a privately chartered college to teach both races in defiance of the Kentucky law making segregation mandatory. The Court ruled against Berea on technical grounds. The case was generally accepted as a reflection of the Court's feeling that segregation was a matter better left to the states. *Gong Lum* vs. *Rice* came before the Court from Mississippi in 1927. The issue was whether Mississippi could properly classify a Chinese child as "colored" and therefore require her to attend a Negro school. The Court upheld the Mississippi law and Chief Justice Taft took the occasion to offer a reminder that the "separate but equal" doctrine was still in effect; "had the petition alleged specifically that there was no colored school in Martha Lum's neighborhood to which she could conveniently go, a different question would have been presented. . . ." None of these cases directly challenged the constitutionality of segregation in education.

In 1935, almost forty years after the Supreme Court handed down the Plessy decision permitting "separate but equal" public educational facilities, Donald Murray, a Negro, applied for admission to the law school of the University of Maryland at Baltimore and was refused in accordance with Maryland's segregation statutes. His complaint was that Maryland provided no law school for Negroes within its boundaries but had attempted to meet the Plessy doctrine by offering a limited number of scholarships for Negroes in institutions outside the state. The Maryland Court of Appeals upheld Murray's contention and accepted the argument that out of state scholarships, which covered only the cost of tuition, placed Negro students at an economic disadvantage.

The Gaines case in 1938 was the real forerunner of the decisions of the 1940's which opened graduate schools in the South to Negroes. Lloyd Gaines sued for admission to the law school of the University of Missouri on the grounds that no separate school of law for Negroes was provided in the state and that the out of state scholarships available to him did not satisfy the requirement of equal treatment. The Supreme Court reversed the courts of Missouri in an opinion which announced a new point of law.[17]

This set into motion in the South a feverish expansion of state-supported Negro graduate and professional schools, an expansion designed especially to deny Negroes admission to white state-supported colleges and universities.[18] The decade following the Murray and Gaines cases witnessed the most

[17] For fuller analysis of this and other education cases which came before the United States Supreme Court see Motley, *op. cit.* p. 484.

[18] For details on this new pattern of discrimination see V. A. Clift, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

revolutionary change to take place in the whole history of education in the South: the entire South began to spend an unprecedented proportion of its income for the education of Negro children in public schools.

It came as a suprise to Southern state officials and legislators that Negroes were not impressed with the makeshift graduate schools, the increased expenditure on capital improvements, the attempts to equalize salaries and the general increase in expenditures for Negro education. Educational opportunities for Negroes were greatly improved, to be sure, but Negro citizens viewed this as irrelevant because they did not judge their conditions in comparison with, say, the impoverished millions in Asia. Instead, Negroes viewed their conditions by the standards of their white fellow citizens and by the guarantees the American system made for them. They were keenly aware that they were at the very crux of the Great American Experiment and that their drive to secure full educational rights as human beings and citizens was the acid test of the American Way of Life.

Therefore, Negroes prepared to make an onslaught and frontal attack on the validity of segregation in higher education. In cases against the University of Oklahoma and the University of Texas[19] Negro plaintiffs carried to the United States Supreme Court between 1946 and 1949 issues sharply testing the right of the states to alter in any substantial particular the opportunities for graduate and professional study offered Negroes from that offered whites. Indeed in the Texas case (*Sweatt* vs. *The University of Texas*) the plaintiff's attorneys argued that no segregated Negro school actually could provide equal educational opportunities. They not only argued that the new Negro law school which had been established by Texas was materially inferior, but also offered the testimony of anthropologists, psychologists and educators to show that Negroes were as capable of learning as whites, that classification of students by race was arbitrary and unjust and that segregation was harmful to personality adjustment. The Court obviously gave weight to these contentions by ruling out segregation in specific instances and largely invalidating it in the field of graduate and professional training. Few if any state Negro colleges in the South could meet the requirements posed by the Court in its decision.

Meanwhile, the Southern states had pooled their resources to set up regional programs for higher education which would serve the students of both races from all participating states. This plan was denounced by Negro leaders as another device for preserving segregation at the university level. The Southern Regional Educational Board and the regional compact were immediately challenged in 1949 when a Negro applicant was denied admis-

[19] *Sipuel* vs. *The University of Oklahoma; McLaurin* vs. *The University of Oklahoma; Sweatt* vs. *The University of Texas*. See Motley, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

sion to the University of Maryland School of Nursing on the grounds that she was entitled to out of state training at Meharry Medical School (Negro) under the regional plan. The Maryland Court of Appeals ordered her admitted to the state university. Beginning with this decision, more public institutions admitted Negroes. Enrollment of Negroes was restricted, however, primarily to graduate and professional schools.

The relentless legal assault upon the upper ramparts of the segregated educational structure had been planned and executed with great care. Negro leaders now reasoned that the anachronistic system of segregation in public elementary and secondary schools perpetuated segregation and discrimination in all other phases of public life of the nation. They maintained that segregation in the lower schools was a divisive and antidemocratic device perpetuating an obsolete caste system which flatly controverted the basic ethical concepts of the American Judeo-Christian tradition.

By this time the Negro masses were demanding that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People press harder and with greater speed for equal rights in all fields. The masses, in the North and South, were making such great demands on Negro leaders that the leaders were actually being pressured into action in many instances where otherwise they would have been reluctant.

Therefore, in 1952, the long course of litigation over separate education in America brought before the Supreme Court five separate cases which challenged head-on the Plessy doctrine of "separate but equal."[20]

Each of these cases raised the basic issues of segregation in education in a somewhat different way. The implications reached the whole of the nation's segregated pattern as well as the basic division of authority between the Federal Government and the sovereign states. The moral overtones had practical repercussions on America's efforts in international politics to keep black, brown and yellow peoples of the world from swinging into the communist orbit.

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled unanimously that segregation of the races in public education was unconstitutional. The Court made its position clear in the following unequivocal statement:

> In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted or even to 1896 when *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in

[20] These cases were from: Claredon, South Carolina (*Briggs* vs. *Elliot*); Prince Edward County, Va. (*Davis* vs. *County School Board*); Topeka, Kansas (*Brown* vs. *Board of Education*); Wilmington, Delaware (*Belton* vs. *Gebhart*), and Washington, D.C. (*Bolling* vs. *Sharpe*).

> this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.
>
> . . . We come back to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.
>
> . . . Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group.

Desegregation was progressing slowly, even in the South, before this historic and far-reaching decision. In compliance with the decision, school desegregation began in the fall of 1954 in a few large cities, notably Wilmington, Delaware, Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D. C., and in some scattered counties in Missouri, Arkansas, and West Virginia. By the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court's original decision, the desegregation process was at work in ten out of the seventeen states that previously had compulsory school segregation. In keeping with the Court-ordained "deliberate speed" clause, desegregation moved faster in Kentucky, Oklahoma and Texas than in Tennessee and North Carolina. But it did spread. Out of 2,889 Southern school districts with both white and colored pupils, desegregation had begun in 764 by the end of four years. Of these, fewer than forty were compelled to desegregate by specific court order.

Then, in the fall of 1958, desegregation appeared to have been brought almost to a standstill by deep Southern hostility. New desegregation moves were limited to thirteen school districts in the entire South; and in contrast to this modicum of progress toward compliance, schools were closed in Little Rock, Arkansas, and in sections of Virginia to avoid integration. Desegregation seemed to have been stopped short by seven states willing to dispense with public schools rather than to yield to racial mixing.

By the middle of the 1958–59 school year, the situation had taken a different turn. Negro pupils had entered white schools in Alexandria, Virginia, without incident, bringing a third new community into the desegregation column—and not in a border state but in Virginia, the former center of massive resistance. Desegregation was thus on the move again, having met the ultimate test of school closing and having proved, at least in Virginia. that parents placed sufficiently high value on public education for their children to endure a limited amount of integration. Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi seemed not to be ready to back away from the massive resistance. But the solid front had been broken, and desegregation was

making some marked advances in its sixth year; once again it began slowly to approach inevitability.[21]

DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1960

Public Schools in the South

During the fall term of 1963, a decade after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, only 9.2 percent of the Negro public school students in the Southern and border states were attending elementary and secondary schools with whites on a desegregated basis. According to a survey reported in *Southern School News*[22] (Table I), the region enrolled 10,918,793 white students and 3,403,925 Negro students, but only 314,571 of the Negroes were in school with whites. In the eleven former Confederate States (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia), 30,798 Negro children attend school in mixed classes, with 14,000 of these being in the state of Texas. The bulk of the desegregation had taken place in the border area (Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia) where 283,773 Negro children were attending mixed classes. This, however, represented only 56.5 percent of the Negro children in this area.[23]

Alabama and South Carolina permitted a few students to attend white schools for the first time in 1963. Mississippi up to 1964 remained the only state with complete segregation in its public schools. The much publicized University of Mississippi, where James Meredith had managed to survive as the lone Negro student until graduation, had admitted another Negro and then expelled him for disciplinary reasons in the fall of 1963.

In 1961, there were 6,196 school districts in the seventeen Southern and border states. Of these, 3,052 had Negro and white students and 979 (32.1 percent) of these biracial districts had policies or practices permitting the admission of Negroes to formerly all-white schools.

In the fall of 1962, fifty-two districts desegregated by policy or practice for the first time, as compared with thirty-one the previous year. Thirteen of the newly desegregated districts acted under court order, although in many of the others legal action was pending or threatened.

A total of 114 school districts were reported to be desegregating for the

[21] Editorial, *Baltimore Sun*, March 8, 1959.
[22] *Southern School News* (Nashville, Tenn.), 10, No. 6 (December, 1963), p. 1.
[23] See Table I for detailed distribution and extent of desegregation.

TABLE I—Public School Desegregation In Southern and Border States—1963–1964

	School Districts With Negroes			Enrollment		In Desegregated Districts		Negroes In Schools With Whites	
	Total	& Whites	Deseg.	White	Negro	White	Negro	No.	%†
Alabama	114	114	4	539,996**	287,414*	106,199**	70,896**	21	.007
Arkansas	415	228	13	328,023**	112,012**	66,752	18,643	366	.327
Florida	67	67	16	964,241*	237,871*	669,375	130,667	3,650	1.53
Georgia	197	181	4	689,323	337,534	95,731	77,599	177	.052
Louisiana	67	67	2	460,589**	301,433**	68,700	79,077	1,814	.602
Mississippi	150	150	0	304,226**	291,971**	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	171	171	40	820,900*	347,063*	367,764*	133,164*	1,865	.537
South Carolina	108	108	1	368,496*	258,955*	3,108	9,539	10	.004
Tennessee	154	143	45	687,902*	164,940*	380,321	120,447	4,486	2.72
Texas	1,421	899	263	2,045,499	326,409*	1,300,000*	200,000*	18,000*	5.52
Virginia	130	128	55	710,176	228,961	486,231	145,658	3,721	1.63
SOUTH	2,994	2,256	443	7,919,371	2,894,563	3,544,181	985,690	34,110	1.18
Delaware	86	86	86	78,730	18,066	68,321	13,976	10,209	56.5
District of Columbia	1	1	1	19,803	117,915	19,803	117,915	98,813	83.8
Kentucky	204	165	163	611,126*	54,874*	492,701*	54,874*	29,855	54.4
Maryland	24	23	23	540,667	160,946	535,691	160,946	76,906	47.8
Missouri	1,597	212*	203*	793,000*	95,000*	NA	90,000*	40,000*	42.1
Oklahoma	1,160	241	197	541,125*	43,875*	324,023*	35,596*	12,289*	28.0
West Virginia	55	44	44	417,595*	23,449*	417,595*	23,449*	13,659*	58.2
BORDER	3,127	772	717	3,002,046	514,125	1,858,134††	496,756	281,731	54.8
REGION	6,121	3,028	1,160	10,921,417	3,408,688	5,402,315††	1,482,446	315,841	9.3

* Estimated. ** 1962–63. †† Missouri not included.

† No. of Negroes in schools with whites, compared to total Negro enrollment.

SOURCE: Table adapted by permission from *Southern School News*, Vol. 10, No. 11 (May 1, 1964), p. 1.

first time in the fall of 1963, sixty-one more than September, 1962; and an additional eighty-three public school districts in eleven Southern states were desegregated in the 1964–65 school year. By fall of 1964 a total of 527 districts in these states were desegregated—about one-fourth of the 2,256 districts with students of both races enrolled.[24]

Thus, the number of school districts in the Southern states which claimed to be desegregating their schools was increasing. It should be noted, though, that the trend has been for a district to declare a policy of desegregation and then to permit only a very small number of Negro children to attend mixed classes. This was the policy followed in Atlanta in 1962 when only nine Negro students went to white schools. At the beginning of the same term, thirteen were admitted to mixed classes in Memphis and eighteen in Dallas. Thus the actual number of Negro children attending desegregated schools in the South remains exceedingly low.

The new resistance to desegregation, which amounts always to minimal compliance to the Supreme Court decision striking down compulsory school segregation, should properly be labeled *token desegregation*. This new strategy has several distinctive elements. First, desegregation plans are adopted which are as limited as possible. For example, the Nashville plan spreads the desegregation process out over a twelve-year period at the rate on one grade per year. Nashville began its plan with nineteen Negro students involved in the first-grade desegregation in 1957. Five years later it had 270 Negro children in the first five grades at formerly white schools.

Another example of tokenism is the pupil placement system which won court approval in North Carolina and Virginia. Under this plan only individual, "qualified" Negro students who actively seek admission may attend mixed classes. Negro children can and have been denied admission to white schools for academic, psychological, physical, geographic and other reasons. Applicants usually have been subjected to a series of special tests and personal interviews. Atlanta and New Orleans, as well as many other Southern communities, combined the grade-a-year plan with the pupil placement plan.

A final element of tokenism is the massive resistance and open defiance of the law by elected officials, including the governors of Arkansas, Mississippi and Alabama. Thus, defiantly in his inaugural address of January 14, 1963, Alabama's Governor George C. Wallace declared:

> I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny; and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.

[24] *Southern School News* [(II, No. 2 (August, 1964 p. 1)] The eleven Southern states in the fall of 1964 had desegregated 127 colleges and universities, leaving eighty-three still segregated; all eighty colleges in the border area have desegregated.

It should be noted, however, that when confronted by determined Federal law officers he receded from this position and permitted the enrollment of Negro students in Alabama's public collegiate institutions.

REGIONAL VARIATION IN DESEGREGATION

From a wide spectrum of rapid changes in the desegregation picture these developments compiled largely by the United States Commission on Civil Rights [25] are instructive:

The Border States (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia)

While the principle of desegregation seems well established, actual practice is spotty. All school districts in Delaware which had made no plans to eliminate separate Negro schools were ordered by the Federal Court in 1959 to desegregate; but five years later in 1963–64 40 percent of the Negro children attended all-Negro schools. In Kentucky 137 out of 169 school districts have integrated schools attended by 54,000 Negro students, or one-half of the Negro school children in the state. The other half attend segregated schools. In Maryland twenty of its twenty-four school districts are desegregated, but Baltimore City and five western Maryland counties account for 97 percent of all the state's desegregation. In Missouri only 213 of the state's 1,597 school districts enrolled students in mixed schools. About 40,000 Negro youth were in schools with whites. Oklahoma, too, runs the gamut from wholly desegregated to wholly segregated school districts. All school districts in West Virginia had some integration and it was estimated in 1963 that 60 percent of the Negro children attended integrated school. West Virginia State College—once all-Negro—now actually has a slight majority of white students enrolled. As an investigator of the United States Commission on Civil Rights stated: "All in all, West Virginia has reached the point where it no longer fits the southern school mold."

In the early stages of the integration process a number of Negro teachers in all the border states were displaced, notably in Oklahoma where a survey by the State Department of Education in 1961 revealed that 394 Negro teachers had been released. Placement of Negro teachers in that state seems to be limited to all-Negro schools; in the other border states some Negro teachers work in integrated schools.

[25] From unpublished material of the commission.

Generally, the developing climate in these schools is reflected by the following statement of the Kentucky State Department of Education:

> There is very definite evidence that changing positive attitudes are taking place. Both races are growing in maturity, in education and in human development and relations.

The Deep South (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina)

These states contain 636 school districts, but only fourteen of them were desegregated by the end of 1964. A hard core resistance to desegregation characterizes the educational climate in them.

Public high school desegregation had its first test in Alabama when thirteen Negro students were enrolled in Tuskeegee High School, Macon County, Alabama. Thereafter the school's 250 white students walked out. Then the school was closed. Immediately the Negro students were sent by the Federal court to enroll in another high school. This, too, was closed. At the end of the 1963–64 school term, the issue of the integration of public schools in Macon County, Alabama, was still undecided. Undecided also was the issue in the major cities of Birmingham and Mobile, where the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had issued desegregation orders. Pending was litigation in which Negro plaintiffs, supported by the United States Department of Justice, have contended that the governor of the state and the state board of education control education in Alabama and that, therefore, the Court should order the organization of the schools of the state into "a unitary, non-racial system." The court has not yet made so sweeping a ruling, but it had, by fall of 1964, ordered desegregation in four other Alabama counties, all of which agreed to comply.

In Georgia the only school system which actually had a desegregation program in operation by June, 1964, was the city of Atlanta, but only fifty-three of its 46,400 Negro children had by then been placed in biracial schools. Muskogee County School Board in the state, which has jurisdiction over the city of Columbus, agreed unanimously to the desegregation of its public schools and library. By fall, 1964, four additional counties had undertaken to desegregate their schools.

In Louisiana the school districts of East Baton Rouge and St. Helena have been under court order to desegregate since 1960, but not a single Negro child had been placed in a biracial school up to June of 1964. The parish of New Orleans was the only school district in the state where desegregation had commenced. Here, of the 59,000 Negro students enrolled in New

Orleans public schools 107 were attending desegregated classes by mid-1964. Another 200 Negro children were attending biracial parochial schools.

The school systems of Mississippi and South Carolina remained completely segregated through 1963. All suits to force desegregation brought before the Federal District Judge in Mississippi had up to 1964 been dismissed and appeals were pending. By 1964 only ten of South Carolina's 235,000 Negro pupils were attending schools with whites.

For the school term 1963–64, desegregation accelerated in South Carolina, with six counties agreeing to admit Negroes to formerly white schools; and in Mississippi the first breach of lily-white policy was made when four counties complied with a court order to desegregate.

Other Southern States (Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia)

Of 448,000 pupils enrolled in public schools in Arkansas in the 1962–63 school year 26.1 percent were Negro, but only 247 of the Negro pupils or two-tenths of one percent were then attending biracial schools. Despite the gigantic struggle for integration in Little Rock which brought Federal troops to the city to enforce Federal Court orders during the Eisenhower Administration [1957] there were by 1964 only seventy-eight Negro pupils in five grade levels in schools with whites. In the entire state 1,084 pupils were then attending biracial public schools.

Thirteen of Florida's sixty-seven county school systems had begun desegregation by 1964 and nearly four thousand Negro children were in biracial schools. In Dade County, the first school district to desegregate, a policy of nondiscrimination in the hiring and placement of teachers had been adopted. The Dade County school board declared:

> We do not believe we can teach democracy in our schools without demonstrating our belief in the way schools are operated. All employees are notified that they are expected to teach or work with other employees and to teach pupils and to supervise or to be supervised in their work by other employees without regard for the creed or color of any individual.[26]

North Carolina has a "pupil assignment law" which gives each of its 173 school districts the right to assign each pupil to a particular school. This device has been used effectively to slow down integration in the state to a snail's pace. Each Negro child complaining of discrimination in assignment has been compelled under rulings of the Federal District Court to exhaust every remedy of appeal in the state before coming into the Federal Court.

[26] From unpublished material of the Commission.

The result is a long, drawn-out, expensive and cumbersome procedure which serves as a brake on the actual integration of Negro pupils.

Fewer than two of every one hundred Negro public school students in Tennessee were attending biracial classes. However, concurrent desegregation of big city and county school systems is more widespread in Tennessee than any other Southern state. In the state by 1964–65, forty-seven districts had been desegregated with more than 4,600 Negro children attending schools with whites. Nashville by the 1964–65 school year had reached the fifth grade in its grade-a-year desegregation plan.

By the 1964–65 school year 257 of Texas' 919 school districts had some form of desegregation plan and over 14,000 Negro pupils were attending biracial schools. This is an increase of thirteen school districts over the number which had desegregated in the previous year. However, more than 97 percent of Texas' Negro public school pupils still attend segregated schools.

Only 1,230 of Virginia's 229,105 Negro students were attending schools with white students in 1963—just over one-half of one percent. Of these more than eight hunderd were enrolled in the Washington, D.C., suburbs of northern Virginia and in the cities of Norfolk, Richmond and Roanoke. Only token desegregation existed in other school districts which had announced plans.

Ninety-six of the state's 128 school districts remained segregated in 1963. Most notorious of these had been the Prince Edward County School District, which abolished its public schools in 1960 rather than comply with a court desegregation order. By the 1964–65 school year, however, twenty-four new school districts in the state were desegregated.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

The best available estimate of the number of Negro students attending American colleges and universities is about 225,000.[27] Although today substantial numbers of Negro students are attending both public and private biracial institutions of higher education(mainly in the North and West), the main source of Negro college graduates was for many decades "the

[27] Reported 1963–64 enrollment from 105 colleges and universities attended predominantly by Negroes totalled 107,278. To these enrollees must be added Negro students attending colleges where white students predominate. Following an intensive study of the latter schools, Dr. Benjamin Fine has estimated an average enrollment of about 125,000 Negro students. See Benjamin Fine, "Reverse Integration Will Bring End of All-Colored Higher Learning." *North American Newspaper Alliance,* (November 3, 1963).

Negro College." The number of such institutions has changed very little since 1900. In 1900 there were 99, in 1950 there were 118, and in 1964 there were 116 four-year and two-year collegiate-rank institutions operated primarily for Negroes.[28]

Enrollment in institutions of higher education primarily for Negroes was 2,624 in 1900 and had increased to 74,526 by 1950. Figure 1 indicates the growth in enrollment over the last decade. Figure 2 shows the trend in the number of graduates produced by these schools. When it is realized that in 1900 only twenty-two women were graduated from these colleges, the increase in the number of women graduates is phenomenal.

Equally remarkable has been the increase of advanced degrees awarded by these colleges and universities. In 1920 the first record of the awarding of master's degrees by these schools showed that five had been granted. By 1950 the number had increased to 768, with women receiving about half of these. The growth has continued. Recently Howard University and Atlanta University has instituted programs leading to a doctoral degree in some fields, but these programs have not yet fully developed. Most doctoral degrees received by Negroes are granted by Northern white universities.

A study published in 1946 by Green [29] reported 381 Negroes known to have received Ph.D. degrees between 1876 and 1943. More than half of these had earned their first degree from a Negro college. A more recent study [30] records that between 1920 and 1962 there were awarded doctorates to 1,478 graduates of Negro colleges. There were 312 Ph.D. degrees awarded such graduates between 1960 and 1962 (about one percent of the total granted in the United States). If to this number we add degrees received by Negro graduates of white colleges for whom racial identification is impossible, it seems reasonable to estimate an annual production of Negro doctorates of between 160 and 175. By contrast the range in 1950 was between 30 and 50.

When one appraises the growth in enrollment, the increase in the number of graduates, the progress made in the number of its students seeking advanced degrees in graduate and professional schools which has been evidenced in Negro colleges, the conclusion is unmistakable that Negro institutions of higher education have played a unique role in advancing American democratic education. It is therefore important that some atten-

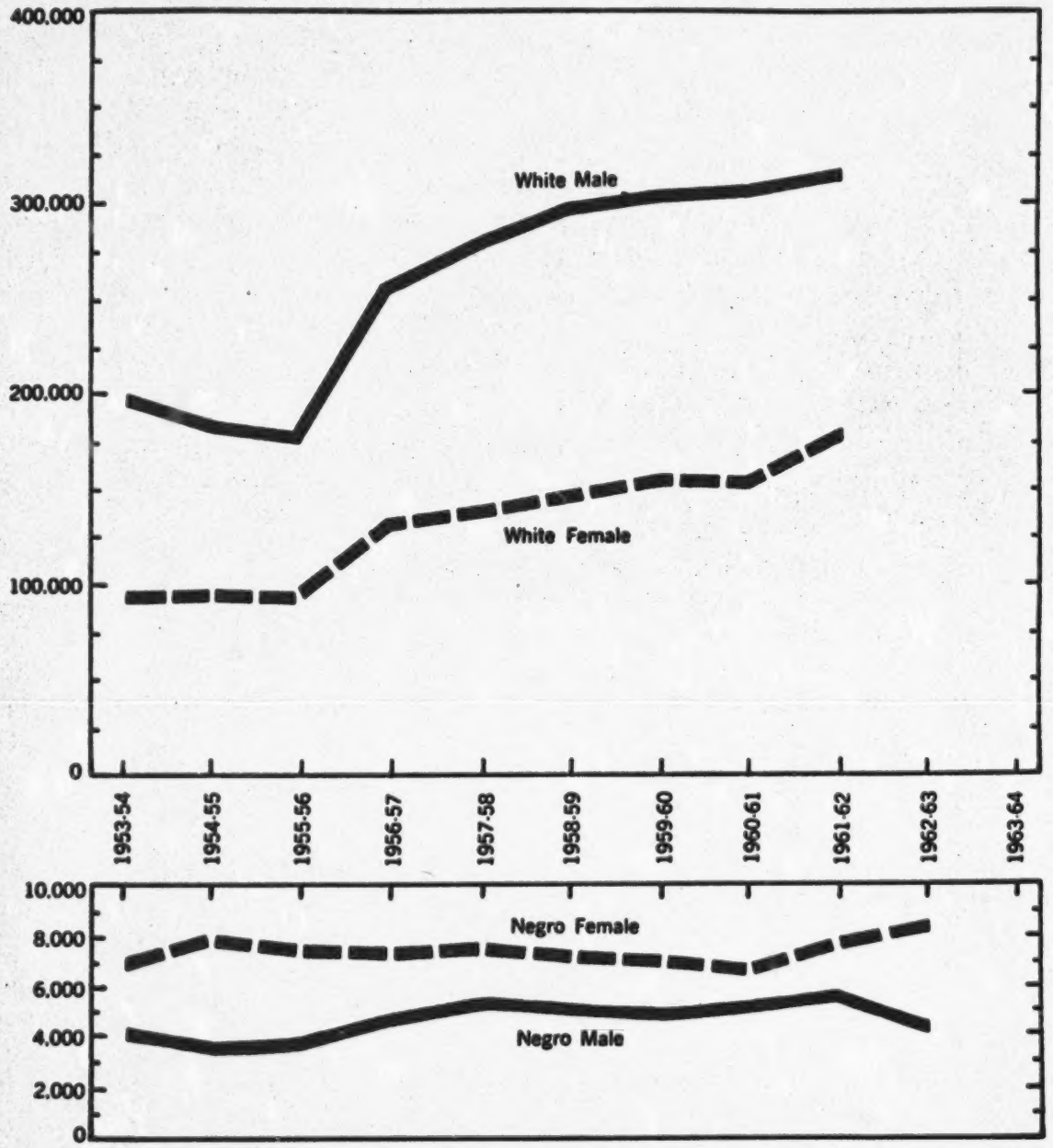
[28] This final number may not be absolutely accurate because of the rapid change in racial enrollment in some institutions in states where desegregation has taken place.

[29] Harry Washington Greene, *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1946), p. 74.

[30] Lindey R. Harmon and Herbert Soldz, compilers, *Doctorate Production of United States Universities, 1920–1962* (Washington, D.C., Publication No. 1142, National Research Council, National Academy of Science 1963), p. 963.

FIGURE 1–College Enrollment from 1953–1954 to 1963–1964 by Sex for 105 Predominantly Negro Institutions Contrasted with That of All Predominantly White Institutions in the United States

Note: This figure does not reflect enrollment of Negro students in other than predominantly Negro colleges and universities.



SOURCE: United States Office of Education, *Enrollment in Higher Education* (for years shown in the figure). Responses to questionnaire of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

tion be given to the tremendous handicaps and disadvantages under which these institutions have been compelled to operate.

In 1950, there were 1,700 public and private colleges and universities in the United States. Of these, 118 were Negro institutions with 114 being located in the South and matriculating 85 percent of all the colored undergraduates from this section.[31] Approximately half of the Negro colleges of the United States were neither accredited nor approved by regional associations.[32]

Graduate and professional education for Negroes in the South was almost nonexistent as late as 1950. No work was offered leading to the doctorate. Two medical schools, Howard University Medical School and Meharry Medical School, supplied four-fifths of all Negro physicians and dentists. Opportunities for legal training and engineering were even more limited. By way of contrast, instruction was available for white students in medicine at thirty-one Southern institutions, in law at thirty-three, and in engineering at thirty-four.

In hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 80th Congress, Mordecai W. Johnson, then president of Howard University, made the following summary on expenditures for education for Negroes in the seventeen Southern states:

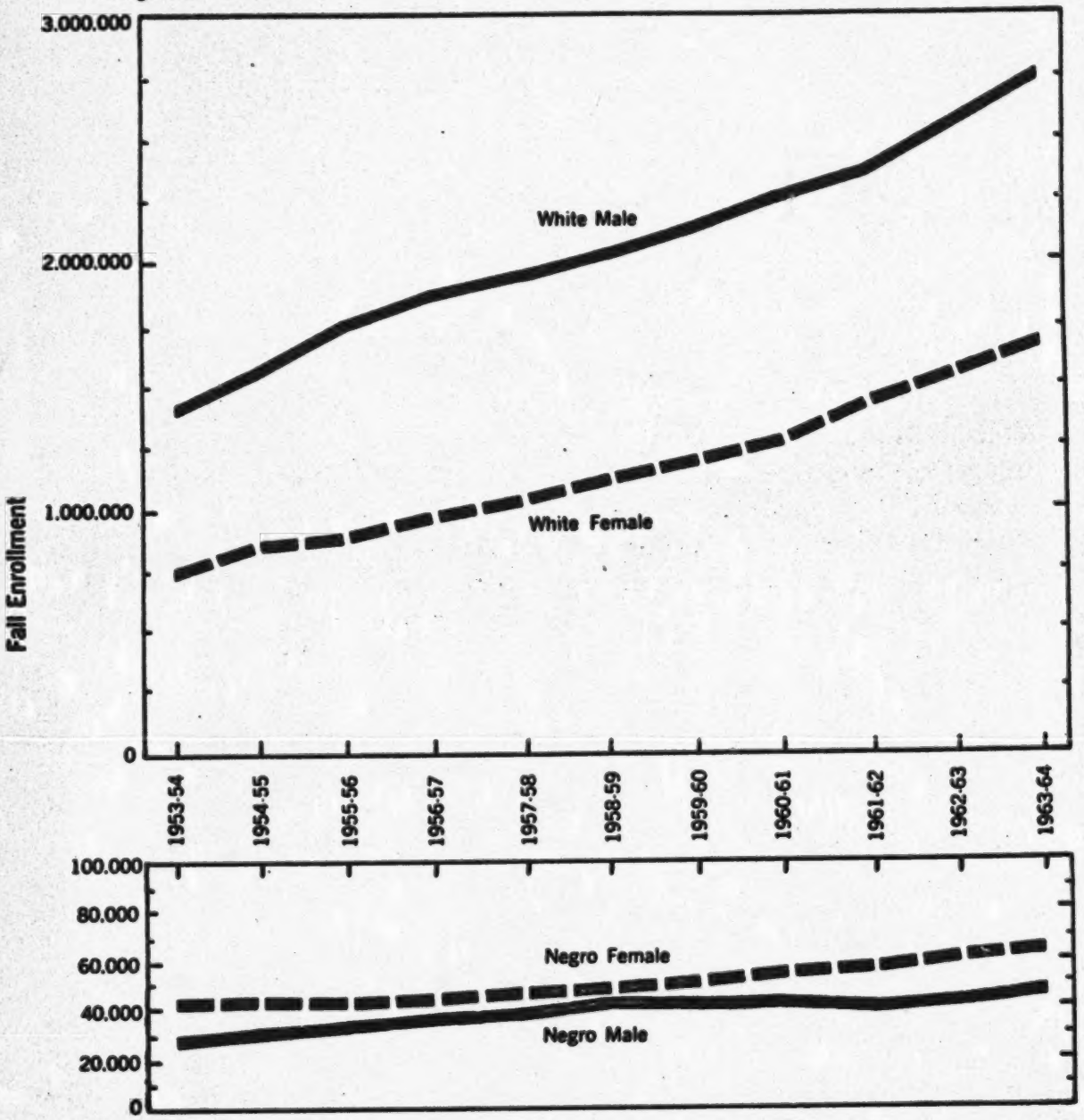
> In states which maintain the segregated system of education there are about $137,000,000 annually spent on higher education. Of this sum $126,541,795 (including $86,000,000 of public funds) is spent on institutions for white youth only; from these institutions Negroes are rigidly excluded. Only $10,500,000 touches Negroes in any way; in fact, as far as state-supported schools are concerned, less than $5,000,000 touches Negroes. In these states there are about seventeen institutions undertaking to do higher education of college grade. . . .
>
> The amount of money spent on higher education by the states and Federal Government within these states is less than the budget of the University of Louisiana (in fact, only 65 per cent of the budget), which is maintained for a little over 1,000,000 in Louisiana. . . .
>
> This is one index, but the most serious index is this: that this money is spread out over so wide an area and in such a way that in no one of these states is there anything approaching a first-class state university opportunity available to Negroes.[33]

Since the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools, important changes have taken place in the

[31] G. Myrdal, *American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 947.
[32] Martin D. Jenkins, *Journal of Negro Education*, XVII (Spring, 1948), p. 207.
[33] Hearings before Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, February, 1947, p. 245.

FIGURE 2—College Graduates From 1953–1954 to 1963–1964, by Sex for 105 Predominantly Negro Institutions Contrasted with Those of All Predominantly White Institutions in the United States

Note: This figure does not reflect degrees granted Negroes in other than predominantly Negro colleges and universities.



SOURCE: United States Office of Education, *Earned Degrees Conferred* (for years shown in the figure). Responses to questionnaire of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

higher education of the Negro in the South. Negro students are now admitted to formerly white institutions, especially to the graduate and professional schools. Since records are no longer kept on the basis of race, we have no statistics on the number of Negroes attending these institutions. Integration has become a two-way street. Approximately two hundred white students have enrolled in all-Negro colleges of the South since 1954 and the number is increasing.

In the border area, especially in West Virginia, Missouri and the District of Columbia, formerly Negro colleges have become truly integrated. West Virginia State College at Institute, W. Va., was all Negro in 1954. Immediately with the Supreme Court decision white students began enrolling, and the number has increased steadily until white students now make up over 50 percent of the enrollment. Bluefield State College at Bluefield, West Virginia, was also an all-Negro college in 1954 and now has an enrollment which is nearly 50 percent white. The faculties at both institutions are integrated.

Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, was the Negro Land Grant College in that state with an all-Negro enrollment in 1954. It also became integrated soon after that date and now has a 50 percent white enrollment.

Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania, the first higher institution established for Negroes in America, has always had an integrated faculty. The faculty is now about evenly divided between Negro and white and the student body, which is all male, is about 20 percent white.

Howard University has become a truly international institution, drawing faculty and student body from all races and many nationalities throughout the world.

Morgan State College in Baltimore, Maryland, enrolled an increasing number of white students in both the regular and evening sessions. Its faculty has always consisted of members of both races.

PROBLEMS OF NEGRO COLLEGES

Although the faculties and student bodies of many of the Negro colleges are becoming increasingly integrated, these institutions seem destined to remain, for some decades to come, a major factor in the college education of Negro youth in the United States. In view of this fact it is important to consider hindrances which prevent these schools from providing high quality education. The four most pressing problems facing these colleges are discussed below:

Adequate Financial Support Financial support of the predominantly Negro state-supported college in the South still remains woefully inadequate. Historically, segregation in education has always been used as a weapon for discrimination. The doctrine of separate but unequal is deeply imbedded in the culture of the South. Consequently, the budget for almost any land-grant university with an enrollment of twenty thousand or more has an annual budget that far exceeds the combined budgets of all of the Negro state colleges and the additional thirty-two private Negro liberal arts colleges being supported by the United Negro College Fund.

An Adequately Trained Faculty Several forces operate in making it difficult to recruit and hold a highly competent faculty. Many other employment opportunities are now open to highly trained Negroes in industry and government. They therefore are attracted away from teaching. Formerly, teaching in a Negro college was almost the only employment open to them where they could use their advanced training. These new employment opportunities are more attractive than they might otherwise be because they are frequently more rewarding financially than the inadequately supported Negro college. Others leave teaching in these institutions because they prefer to bring their families to the North where they experience less hostility and discrimination because of race. Still others secure positions at "white" universities in the North because it is much easier to gain recognition and eminence as a scholar while attached to a "white" university.

A Student Body with an Academic Background for College Work The problem of an inadequately prepared student body can be attributed to two factors. In the first place most of the schools attended by Negroes below college level are themselves inferior because of the lack of financial support, teachers with little training and experience, old and barely adequate buildings and deprivation of the neighborhood where located. Thus, many Negro youth who enter college are not prepared up to the required level. The other factor is that the most capable students whose parents are economically able and are of a higher social class tend to send their youngsters to the "white" prestige colleges and state universities. This amounts to skimming off the cream of the academic crop that once attended in larger numbers the all-Negro college.

Consequences of an Inferior Status Assigned the Negro College by White Culture Another problem relating to the inferior status assigned to the Negro college is difficult to measure and assess in all its ramifications. The white majority seems never to hold the Negro college in as high esteem as institutions for whites. In the South, the Negro student is stigmatized as an individual because of the group to which he belongs. In reality he has a "double stigma" to overcome because the institution of higher education he

attends, which is for the most part segregated, is also regarded as inferior. It has been subjected to a constant psychological attack in the press, on the screen and on the air. This "double stigma" has an adverse effect on personality, achievement, motivation and other factors contributing to success. This stigma of inferiority which is assigned to individuals and institutions in the segregated society was expressed in the Supreme Court's phrase, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

FORCES FOR PROGRESS

One of the truly positive forces operating in the higher education of Negroes is the United Negro College Fund, which provides some of the financial support for thirty-two private Negro liberal arts colleges. The aim of the fund is to strengthen the curriculum and faculty of these institutions. Their "cash capital fund campaign" was launched in 1964 with a goal of $50 million. The Ford Foundation contributed $15 million to this drive and by the end of 1964 over $30 million had been raised.

Other sectors in education give assistance of one type or another to the Negro colleges and universities. The American Council on Education has appointed an eight member Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity headed by President Elvis Stahr of Indiana University. The aims of the committee are: to formulate plans to strengthen the quality of education at Negro institutions, to bring Negro colleges into closer contact with the rest of higher education in America and to broaden opportunities for Negro students and faculty members to become integrated into universities.

Another significant movement is the "Big Brother" program, which attempts to pair a large integrated university of the North with one of the the predominantly Negro colleges. The faculties are brought together, attempts are made to raise the educational sights of Negro students who have had inferior schooling prior to college admission, and it aims to provide aspiration and incentive to Negro students.

Many institutions in the North and West are trying to attract qualified Negro college students, at both graduate and undergraduate level. In January, 1964, Dr. Robert F. Goheen, President of Princeton University, said that the competition among colleges and universities for able Negro students was much more intense than the traditional competition for football players. He pointed out also that it was clear that the number of able colored students who had had adequate educational opportunities was very small. He also called for more money and a staff to develop and expand such

a program. He thought that cooperative programs between a number of institutions would be helpful in reducing competition for the same students and in making the effort more effective.

The University of California took a much more positive step toward solving this problem early in 1964. A $100,000 scholarship fund was established to assist students who come from the disadvantaged segments of the country. Scholarships are to be provided during the 1964–65 school year for certain students of minority status whose grades might otherwise bar their admission to college. Dr. Jerzy Neyman, Professor of Statistics emeritus, University of California, is one of the prime movers in this project. He has indicated that professors from other universities, including Stanford, Harvard and the University of Illinois, had agreed previously that a regular channel, similar to the fund and program in California, should be provided to enable exceptionally talented people from slum areas to be incorporated into the intellectual life of the country.

COLLEGE MOTIVATION FOR AMERICAN NEGRO STUDENTS

The need for the kinds of programs as described above was highlighted in a study of Negro enrollment in the colleges and universities in Indiana. Early in 1964 a report on a survey of all thirty-one colleges and universities in Indiana showed that only 2.9 percent of the total enrollment for the current year was Negro. In the state 6 percent of the high school graduating classes of the previous spring were Negro. *In the Indiana colleges and universities there were actually more African Negro students enrolled than American Negro.* In addition, the survey found that 60 percent of the 2,595 Negro students in Indiana institutions of higher learning were enrolled only part time. By contrast, only 16 percent of the white students are enrolled part time.

Director Harold Hatcher of the Indiana Civil Rights Commission said that this survey found no evidence of discrimination because of race. Rather, he felt that the cause for the low percentage of Negro students could be attributed to the median income of all Negro families in Indiana, which was $1,500 below that of white families.[34]

The evidence seems to indicate that Negro students attending interracial colleges and universities are far less likely to drop out before graduation than are white students or Negro students attending segregated colleges.

[34] Harold Hatcher, *Survey of Negro Enrollment at Indiana Colleges* (Indianapolis: Indiana Civil Rights Commission, 1964), pp. 10–61.

This was one of several very significant findings of a study entitled *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges* by Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin under the sponsorship of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.[35] Some of the other important findings were: (1) The dropout rate was one-fourth the national one. Fewer than 10 percent of the Negro students studied failed to obtain a degree while approximately 40 percent of white students do not complete college. The authors advanced a motivational hypothesis to explain the very low dropout rate. These students feel motivated to complete college; "to drop out means that they will fall back into the ranks of the nonspecialized labor force where their race insures the permanence of low status." (2) Financial reasons for dropout lead all others. (3) The college grades received by these students were average with 31 percent earning an average "B" or better; less than 10 percent were graduated with honors; and a little more than one percent were elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the national scholastic honor society. (4) There was found no relationship between family income and academic success at college. (5) Academic success was found to be directly related to parents' occupational level. (6) The predictive value of intelligence tests administered in high school was not high.

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR NEGROES IN THE NORTH

During the period since World War II, Negroes have migrated into the cities of the North at an unprecedented pace.[36] Housing is more segregated in the largest cities of the North than it was thirty years ago. Housing patterns have developed along social-class and caste lines and have therefore created *de facto* segregated neighborhoods and schools.

The first important fact about racial composition of public elementary schools in sixteen states in the North and West is that the percentage of nonwhite pupils greatly exceeds the proportion of nonwhites in the total population. Consider the nine largest cities. In Buffalo, Pittsburgh and St. Louis, the percentage of minority group children in the public elementary schools was more than double the proportion of the total population. In Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, it was almost exactly twice the total population percentage. Only in Baltimore, Detroit and Washington, D. C.,

[35] Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin, *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges* (New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1963), pp. 7–9.

[36] Karl E. and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States," earlier in this volume, p. 36.

was it proportionately less than twice the total population percentage. In the medium-sized cities, Camden, New Jersey, and Oakland, California, there were approximately more than twice as many Negroes in public elementary schools as in the general population. The small cities of Orange, New Jersey, had more than twice the proportion of Negroes in its elementary schools as in the total population.

The second important fact is that in five major cities, Baltimore, Newark, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Washington, the percentage of minority group children in the public elementary schools exceeded 50 percent of the total elementary school enrollment, the range being from 53 percent in Philadelphia to 86 percent in Washington. In six more the proportion was approaching 50 percent: 49.3 percent in Camden; 46 percent in Chicago; 46.2 percent in Detroit (that is, for all schools, high and elementary); 47.3 percent in Oakland, and 48.9 percent in Orange, New Jersey. In only four of the cities, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Plainfield and Montclair, was the proportion below 40 percent, the range being from 32 percent in Montclair to 37 percent in Plainfield.

ACHIEVING RACIAL BALANCE IN SCHOOLS

It is well to note the significance of these concentrations of Negro population in terms of concepts of *de facto* segregation developed by social psychologists, educators and other experts.

School administrators have found Negro concentrations in schools in percentages ranging from 46 to 99 percent to be grounds for administrative action to reduce racial imbalance.

Pupil assignment to achieve desirable racial balance is not a simple process. Most Northern and Western cities have been operating public schools for seventy-five years or more. Many school buildings still in use were built fifty to seventy-five years ago. The size and location of these buildings were determined by the population density of the period in which they were built. New schools have been added and existing buildings enlarged to accommodate increased population. But change in population density has made many older schools in large cities inadequate for the present school population of the geographic area they serve.

St. Louis can be used as an example of this.[37] In the period between desegregation of the schools in September, 1955, and the school year

[37] The statistics presented here are taken from an unpublished report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

1961–62, the white elementary school population of St. Louis decreased from 44,779 to 37,669, and the Negro enrollment increased from 27,921 to 45,000.

The Negro-white inversion during this period was accompanied by an expanding of the Negro population from the central city line into the West End area in large numbers. The now crowded West End, a 98 percent white section in 1950, had become 64 percent Negro by 1960. Soldan High School, which serves this area as a general high school, was 74 percent white after desegregation in 1955 and 99 percent Negro in 1962. The eleven elementary schools in the West End district in 1955 ranged from 45 to 100 percent white in re-enrollment; six were over 90 percent or more white. In October, 1962, the school administration made a head count. At that date there was one more elementary school in the West End district than in 1955, making a total of twelve. All but two of the twelve schools were over 90 percent Negro.

Of greater importance, the enrollment in these schools had increased from 9,892 in 1955 to 19,527 in 1962. The classroom space which had been sufficient to accommodate the area's children in 1955 had become grossly inadequate because of the change in the density of the population. Enrollment in one elementary school in 1962 was almost three times its November, 1955, enrollment. Obviously, schools planned for some 10,000 pupils could not accommodate twice that number. St. Louis' partial answer has been to transfer about 5,000 of the pupils officially enrolled in these schools to distant and almost always predominantly white schools until the building program catches up with the increase in pupils.

New York City provides some interesting statistics and emerging patterns which are helpful in interpreting trends that are developing in other cities of the North. Three population trends stand out which have a direct bearing on what is happening to the public school system.

First, the population is more mobile; second, it is more segregated racially, and third, neighborhoods have become essentially of one social-class. Between 1950 and 1957, New York City lost a white population of about 750,000 and gained an ethnically identifiable Negro and Puerto Rican population of about 650,000.[38] During the period from 1956 to 1964 the number of predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican elementary and junior high schools in the city doubled.

In 1964, there were 264,616 Negro pupils in the New York City school system, an increase of 91,659, or 53 percent, over the 1957–58 total of

[38] Dan W. Dodson, *Interpreting the "Inner City,"* Human Relations Monograph No. 12 (New York: New York University, Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, 1961), p. 11.

172,957. For 1964 there were 177,544 Puerto Rican children in the system, an increase of 48,564, or 37.6 percent. There were 596,356 "others" (a term used by the New York City school system to refer to students not Negro or Puerto Rican) in the system, a decrease of 54,323, or 8.3 percent.

As a result of these population changes the number of elementary and junior high schools with a Negro or Puerto Rican enrollment of 85 to 90 percent had increased. Such elementary schools had increased from 64 in 1957–58 to 134 in 1964 and the number of junior high schools had increased during this period from 13 to 31. This change took place during a period when the board of education was trying to improve the ethnic distribution of children in schools.

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION AND LOW ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Much of the current thinking about the problems of the culturally deprived child in our urban areas has been focused on the Negro. The authorities in the behavioral sciences are agreed that cultural deprivation is not race-related. The ego development of individuals in each subculture (including the subcultures in the Negro minority) is directly influenced by the special nature and quality of multidimensional cultural factors which are operating in the culture. Therefore, cultural deprivation is not specific to racial groups, but to cultural factors. Ausubel sums up the position thus:

> Many of the ecological features of the segregated Negro subculture impinge on personality development in early childhood are not specific to Negroes as such, but are characteristic of most lower-class populations. This fact is not widely appreciated by white Americans and hence contributes to much anti-Negro sentiment: many characteristic facets of the Negro's value system and behavior pattern are falsely attributed to his racial membership, whereas they really reflect his predominant membership in the lower social class.[39]

Some of the cultural factors which will be described below contribute to deprivation which manifests itself in low levels of motivation, low achievement on standardized tests, negative self-evaluation, low levels of aspiration and behavior which deviates from accepted middle-class norms.

The urban population has grown and is growing increasingly homogeneous. Both the inner city and the suburbs have become a series of "one social

[39] David P. Ausubel and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," in *Education in Depressed Areas*, A. Harry Passow (ed.). (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 113. By permission.

class" neighborhoods. People in these neighborhoods tend to be alike in income level, general employment classification, amount of schooling completed, racial identity and in ethnic background. The Negro migrant to the urban areas of the North must nearly always live in the worst and most crowded slum areas that are typically inhabited by his group. His economic resources, level of culture, sophistication and style of living all operate to force him to seek the "ghetto" as a place to live. Once in the "ghetto," he becomes even more isolated from the mainstream of American life than he was before moving to the city. His neighborhood, like other "one social class" neighborhoods, tends to be self-contained and an island unto itself. It is in this environment that children begin to take on a value system and patterns of behavior that are inconsistent with the demands and requirements for academic success in schools.

Typically, the neighborhood is more segregated racially than two or three decades ago; the school located there has ceased to represent a cross section of American life. The population in the neighborhood school is homogeneous. Therefore, the school no longer provides an opportunity for the cross-fertilization of ideas and cultures. It provides no opportunities for young people of different backgrounds to learn anything about each other. It provides no first-hand experiences which will help children to build understandings of and appreciations for people who are different.

The school has become the dominant institution in the control and socialization of youth because it is a major force in determining status transitions of youth. The child who is at the bottom of the socio-economic scale is isolated and completely apart from successful examples or models in the community and schools that can be emulated. Examples of success and of behavior that leads to high level attainment in the broader society are not a part of his environment at all. His world is void of abstract symbols, ideas, abstractions and a high level of verbal meanings. Therefore, it is not surprising that he has difficulty in making high scores on standardized intelligence and achievement tests.

The school tends to reflect the neighborhood in which it is located. Thus, schools in the higher social class neighborhoods tend to be of the "silk stocking" type with the better buildings and facilities, better and more enriched programs and better qualified teachers. At the bottom of this scale are typically found the all-Negro schools in the all-Negro residential areas of the inner city. These schools are nearly always inferior in quality. The larger society regards the people who attend these schools as being inferior and assigns to them a stigma and a negative evaluation. The teachers, the community, and the board in charge of operating the schools do not expect anything other than low-level performance. The curriculum is there-

fore accommodating and geared to a low level of ability and to shoddy academic performance. The consequence is that retardation begins for a large number of these children very soon after they enter school. By the time one-third of these children reach the fourth grade they are performing one grade behind their grade level. The longer they remain in school, the more retarded they become. It is a combination of these and other factors, thet most important of which is that of enforcing a negative self-evaluation on the Negro child that disarms him psychologically.

It is with these kinds of problems in our society that our educators are now working. Pioneer work of such scholars as Allison Davis [40] and Martin Jenkins [41] has provided us with a better understanding of the theoretical and practical significance of low scores that minority groups make on intelligence tests. As a result, psychologists now attribute the low average performance on intelligence tests of subcultures to cultural factors. Therefore, in the decade to come, the two most pressing and compelling factors related to the education of the Negro in America will be: (1) the desegregation of the schools, and (2) providing an adequate and meaningful education for the culturally deprived.

There now exist some notable examples of efforts to solve these problems in our major cities. The Higher Horizons Program in New York City, The Great Cities Project in fourteen major cities supported with Ford Foundation funds, the Banneker schools in St. Louis, and the Amidon School in Washington, all operate on the assumption that present problems of the culturally deprived youth in our schools can be solved by an expansion of services that have worked with middle-class white children. These are sometimes referred to as *saturation programs* which provide for more guidance, more remedial instruction, more emphasis on reading, more individual psychological testing, and more cultural programs. None of these programs has made extensive use of research in the behavioral sciences in designing programs and procedures. In the future more attention will have to be given to these areas for theoretical and empirical bases upon which to construct educational programs. Out of this search and effort may come answers which can be applied to the vital educational problems in America and in the emerging nations of the world.

[40] W. Allison Davis, with John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940); Kenneth W. Eells, under the chairmanship of Allison Davis, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[41] Martin Jenkins, "Intelligence of Negro Children" in Paul A. Witty, ed. *Intelligence in a Changing Universe* (New York: Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association of the United States, 1940).